Each man identifies himself with the lineage he belongs to, and the core of the lineage are the women. A woman who marries "son" of the lineage is a "daughter-in-law" of the lineage. In this usage irago is a group-centered rather than Ego-centered term. This is corroborated by the fact that any woman who marries in the lineage is referred to by all the members of that lineafe as "our daughter-in-law" (parago--1st person plural inclusive.)

This rule though strange, is yet another variant of general equivalence of a mother and her child which was expressed in different ways in the Crow rule (which equated mother's brother with brother), in female parallel collateral skewing rule (which equated mother's sister with sister), and it will be apparent again in the vocative system (where one's mother's parents are equated with one's own parents).

Here also I would like to make an exception and anticipage the social meaning of the present equivalence rule. By placing brother's wife in the category of irago, the Bororo removed her from the category of sexual partners to which she previously belonged (as imarugo or itonaregedu), and so through the terminology, they express the ideal and the necessity of solidarity among brothers.

With this, the analysis of the Bororo referential system is concluded. All the kin types have been accounted for and reduced to their focal kin types. The boundaries of the system coincide closely with the list on pages 11-18. Occasionally, if convenient, some Bororo may restrict or extend

This is the third time that the structural equivalence of the child and his or her mother is required in accounting for kin terms. Though the social correlates of the rules will be discussed in subsequent chapters, we may even now start to wonder about the nature and importance of the mother-child relation for the Bororo.

There are still some more kin types that remain to be discussed. The first is "father's child." By our step-kin rule, father's children, younger than Ego, are considered younger siblings and are classified appropriately as iviye, or vocatively as imedu and aredu. (An alternative designation for them is ikobo. This term is applied both referentially and vocatively, but only knowledgeable members of the society use it at all, and then only very rarely.) However, if the person's father's child is a member of the opposite moiety (i.e., if their common father had the child by a woman of his own moiety), he will not be addressed by any kinship term at all. The Bororo say that it is not polite to remind a brother that he is the child of an endogamous relation. Thus he will usually be addressed by his name. "...but," said one of my informants, "if my sister from the other moiety makes sexual advances to me, I should say to her 'Do not play with me, the same father caused our birth, so do not behave in this way, I am your brother (avuri).'"[1]

There are two other kin types that differ, in the system

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[1] "Awadu kaba, pao mitodu koyare pawodudo. Kodire aro modu kare ino. Avuri nure imi."

593 578 It is considered highly improper behavior to go against one's cross-siblings. Today, the Bororo frequently quarrel with their spouses when they are drunk, and infidelities, divorces, and remarriages are common. But in the resulting fights it is always the brothers and sisters who stand against their respective spouses. There is no obligatory 593 [835] levirate among the Bororo and they condemn any sexual relation [522] with the brother's wife, although jokes between the two are allowed and expected. Brothers are supposed to make a common front against outsiders, and the sexual involvement of a man with his brother's wife would put a handicap on [578] this. Most of the quarrels among the Bororo concern sexual affairs. A man who is having sexual relations with his 593 835 brother's wife, but together with the brother goes against another man who is also having an affair with the same woman, could be asked by this last man: "Why are you going against me? You too have been sleeping with your brother's wife." The Bororo say that this would be shameful for both brothers.

587 593 On the other hand, a man who is very sick may call one of his unmarried brothers and tell him that he is going to

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[585] [539] akaiwore, uwo kodo towuje akudawuje, uwo beto towuje akudawuje, uwo atugo rakoja baku tovuje, uwo akaimo, uwo akududo. Awudo bogaire apoga mode akodadai akaregodui karo jao, barogo jao piji du tabo, akaregodui tori, itura piji du tabo. Kaje jawo karega aerudu kare ache, atuye makaguragai t akai duji. Awudore ache modema, aviye modema. Iyeripo tabo arore ji, akaba pagududo tudui poboto duji, tudui jerigi kae duji. Akaba pagududo tui ako karo kodu, ako barogo kodu ko duji. Jetuwo t akodoi tujeba areduji, tuyogudugodure ji boeji. Akaba pagududo, uchewo aki, uwowo aki, uyedagawo aki, uvuriwo aki, paduwo akujiyagi, jetuwo akodoi pudabo.

587 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he
593 should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 For the women things go differently. A good wife is
593 supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with
837 her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the
[614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman
[578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is considered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her
593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better
837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife.
602 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in contin-
835 uous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

593
837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by
835 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.
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There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though
587 the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the
606 family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him
[585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but
[43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

582 As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage,
593 there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by
591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

their wives.

I am not going to make a summary of this short chapter, but I would like to say something about Bororo views on marriage and procreation. The first is conceptualized from a normative or ideal point of view, which conforms but poorly to actual behavior. Although one should marry members of specific lineages, this is rarely done. A man should not have a love affair with his brother's wife, but he often does. The wife should tolerate her husband's sexual relations with her sisters, but she usually does not. The native theories of procreation, on the other hand, express realistic recognition of actual events. If one's mother had intercourse with three men, all of them are the child's father. It is a good thing to have many fathers, since one can profit by it. Both views, the idealistic concerning marriage and the realistic concerning procreation, are recognized as legitimate and are taken into account. This is representative of one of the most outstanding Bororo attitudes: let us imagine that things are perfect, but let us get used to living with imperfections.

57 616 613 773 582 744 833 173

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them.

835 582 192

Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual rela-

829 273

tions with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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1 "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

835 but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for
[829] their actions. I could not detect any great concern over
[273] what had happened.

773 Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical
183 past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man
835 will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If
[616] he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with
[414] his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when
[414] he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

773 The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it
183 was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae
835 were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells
616 of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare, you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority